TO WORKING MEN.

How to Increase Competition for the Pur-chase of Labor, and how to Raise the Wages of the Laborer. From The Plough, The Loom, and The Aged A Correspondent requests us to explain

more fully than, as he says, we have heretofore done, how it is that the man who has labor to sell-us is the cese with most of us-is benefited by Protection, and how it is that he is injured by the British Free-Trads

In reply, we might, we think, refer him to his own almost purely agricultural neighborhood, where he could, without difficulty, find hundreds of men, and hundreds of women and children, wasting more time than would, if properly employed, purchase twice the clothing and twice the machinery of production they are now enabled to obtain. Why, however, he will proably ask, is it that they do so waste it? Because there is no demand for it except in agriculture; and when that is the case there must necessarily be great waste of time. At one season of the year the farm requires much labor, while at another it needs but little, and if its neighbors are all farmers, they are all in the same situation. If the weather is fit for plowing, they and their horses and men are all employed. If it is not, they are all idle. In winter they have all of them little to do; in harvest-time they are all overrun with work; and crops frequently perish on the ground for want of the aid required for gathering them. Now, it would seem to te clear that if there existed some other mode of employment that would find a demand for the sur labor of the neighborhood, all would be benefited. loyment that would find a demand for the surplus man who had a day's labor to sell could sell it, and with the proceed of the labor of a very few days, now wasted, could purchase clothing for his children, if, indeed, the labor of those children, nowalso wasted, did not more than pay for all the clothing, not only of themselves, but of his wife and himself.

In order that our readers may see clearly how this state of things affects all laborers, even those who are employed, we must now ask them to examine with us the manner in which the prices of all commodities are affected by excess of supply over demand, or of demand ever supply. It is well known to all of them, that when the crop of peaches, or of potatoes, is, in even a very small degree, in excess of the regular demand, the ex istence of that small surplus so far diminishes the price that the larger crop will not yield as much as a much smaller one would have done. It is also known to them that when the crop is a little less than is required to supply the demand, the advance in price is large, and the farmer then grows rich. In this latter case the pur chasers are looking for sellers, whereas, in the former one the sellers have to seek the buyers. Now, labor is a commodity that some desire to sell, and that others desire to buy, precisely as is the case with peaches; but it has this diredventage when compared with any other commodity, that it is less easily transferred from the place where it exists to that at which it is needed, and that the loss resulting from the absence of demand on the epot is greater than in reference to any other commodity relateoceer. The man who raises a hundred bushels of potatoes, of which only ninety-five are needed at home, can send the remaining five to a distance of a hundred or a thousand miles, and the loss he sustains is only that which results from the fact that the price of the whole is almost fixed by what he can obtain for the surplus bushels, burthened as they are with heavy cost of trans portation, that he must lose; for the man that wast go to a distant market must always pay the expense of getting there. This is a heavy loss, certainly, but it is trivial when compared with that sustained by him who has labor to sell, because that cannot be carried to another market, and west be wasted. If he has two spare hours a day to sell, he finds that they waste themselves in the very act of seeking a distant market, and his children may go in rage, or even suffer from hunger, because of his inability to find a purchaser for the only commodity he has to sell. So, too, with the man who has days weeks, or months of labor for which he desires to find a purchaser. Unwilling to leave his wife and children, to go to a distance, he remains to be a constant weight upon the labor market, and must continue so to remain until there shall arise increased competition for the purchase of labor. It is within the knowledge of every man who reads this, whether he be shoemaker, hatter tailor, printer, brickmaker, stone-mason, or laborer, that half a dozen unemployed men in his own pursuit, keep down the wages of all shoemskers, all hatters, all tallors or printers; whereas, wages always rise when there is mand for a few more than are in the neighborhood The reason for this is to be found in the difficulty of transferring labor from the place at which it exists to that at which it is needed; and it is to that we have to attribute the fact that the tendency to depression in the weges of all labor is so very great when there is even a very small excess of supply, and the tendency to elevation so great when there is even a very small excess of demand. Men starve in Ireland for want of employment, and yet the distance between them and the people who here earn a dollar a day, is one that could me at the expense of fifteen or twenty dollars. Wages may be high in one part of the Union and low in another, and yet thousands must remain to work at low ones, because of the difficulty of transporting themselves, their wives, and their families, to the places at which their services are needed. Every such man tends to keep down the wages of all other men who have labor to sell, and therefore every man is interested in having all other men fully employed, and to have the demand grow faster than the supply. This is the best state of things for all, capitalists and laborere; whereas, to have the supply in excess of the demand is injurious to all, employers and employed. All profit by increase in the competition for the purchase of labor, and all suffer from increased competition for the sale of it.

We had occasion, but a little while since, to visit a factory in which were employed two hundred females of various ages, from fourteen to twenty who were carning, on an average, three dollar per week, making a total of six hundred dollars per week, or thirty thousand a year; or as much as would buy five hundred thousand yards of cotton cloth Now supposing these two hundred females to represent one hundred families, it would follow that their labor produced five thousand yards of cloth per family, being probably three times as much in value as the total cor sumption of ciothing by all its members, from the

parent down to the infant child.

Let us now suppose this factory closed; what then would be the value of the labor of these girls, few of whom have strength for field work, even if our habits of thought permitted that it should be so employed? It would be almost nothing, for they could do little except housework, and the only effect of sending them hor would be that, whereas one person, fully employed, performs now the labor of the house, it would henceforth be divided between two or three, all of whom would gradually lose the habit of industry they have been so-The direct effect of this would be a diminuquiring. tion in the demand for female labor, and a diminution of its reward. While the factory continues in operation there is competition for the purchase of such labor. The pa rent desires to retain at least one child. A neighbor de sires to hire another, and the factory also desires one; but to supply those demands requires all the females of the neighborhood capable of working and not provided with families of their own; and thus these who are willing to work have the choice of employers and of employment while the competition for the purchase of their services tends to relie the rate of wages. If, now, in the exist ing state of things, another factory were established in the same neighborhood, requiring a hundred or a hundred and fifty more females, the effect would be to establish increased competition for the purchase of labor, attended by increased power of choice on the part of the la borer, and increased reward of labor. If, on the con trary, the factories were closed, the reverse effect would be produced, the competition for the purchase of labor being diminished, with corresponding diminution of the power of choice on the part of the laborer, and diminuion in the compensation of all.

What is true with regard to the females of this neigh borhood is equally true with regard to the men, women, and children of the world. Wherever there exists com petition for the purchase of labor, there the laborer has his choice smong employers, and the latter are not only required to pay higher wages, but they are also required to treat their workmen and workwomen with the consideration that is due to fellow-beings equal in right with themselves; but wherever there is not competition for the purchase of labor, the laborer is a slave, compelled to work for any who will employ him, and to receive at the hands of his employer low wages and the ent of a slave, for slave he is. Here is a plain and simple proposition, the truth of which each of our ers can test for bimself. If he lives in a neighborbood in which there exists competition for the purchase of

labor he knows that he can act as becomes a freeman in determining for whom he will work, and the price he is willing to receive for his services; but if he lives in one in which there is competition for the sale of labor, he knows well that it does not rest with him to determine either where he will work or what shall be his

Where all are farmers, there can be no competition for the purchase of labor, except for a few days in harvest, but there must be competition for the sale of labor during all the rest of the year. Of course, where all are farm ers or planters, the man who has labor to sell is at the mercy of the few who desire to buy it, as is seen in our Southern States, where the laborer is a slave; and in Ireland, where his condition is far worse than that of the slaves of the South; and in India, where men sell themselves for long terms of years to labor in the West Indies; and in Portugal, where competition for the purchase of labor has no existence. Where, on the contrary, there is a diversification of employments, there is a steady improvement in the condition of man, as they more and more acquire the power to determin for themselves for whom they will work and what shall be their reward, as is seen in the rapid improvement of the condition of the people of France, Belgium, and Germany, and especially of those of Russia, where competition for the purchase of labor is increasing with derful rapidity. Diversification of employment is absolutely necessary to produce competition for the purchase of labor. The shoemaker does not need to purchase shoes, nor does the miner need to buy cost. any more than the farmer needs to buy wheat or potatoes. Bring them together, and combine with them the hatter, the tanner, the cotton-spinner, the maker of woclen cloth, and the smelter and roller of iron, and each of them becomes a competitor for the purchase of the labor, or the products of the labor, of all the others, and the wages of all rise with the increase of compe

In order that labor may be productive, it must be aided by machinery. The farmer could do little with his hands, when aided by the plow and the harrow he may raise much wheat and corn. He could carry little on his shoulders, but he may transport much when aided by a horse and wagon, and still more when aided by a locomotive engine or a ship. He could convert little grain into flour when provided only with a peatle and mortar, but he may do much when provided with a mill. His wife could convert little cotton into cloth when provided only with a spinning-wheel and handloom, but her labor becomes highly productive when aided by the spinning jenny and the power-loom. The more her labors and those of her husband are thus sided the larger will be the quantity of grain produced, the more readily will it be converted into flour, the more readily will it be carried to market, the larger will be the quantity of cloth for which it will exchange, the greater will be the quantity of food and of cloth to be divided among the laborers, and the greater will be the facility on the part of the laborer to acquire machinery of his own, and to become his own employer, and to increase that diversification in the employment of labor which tends to increase the competition for its purchase

It will next, we think, be quite clear to our readers that the nearer the grist-mill is to the farm, the less will be the labor required for converting the wheat into flour, the more will be the labor that may be given to the improvement of the farm, and the greater will be the power of the farmer to purchase shoes, hats, soats, plows, or harrows, and thus to create a demand for labor. Equally clear will it be that the nearer he can bring the batter, the shoemaker, and the tailor, the maker of plows and harrows, the less will be the loss of labor in exchanging his wheat for their commodities, and the greater will be his power to purchase books and newspapers, to educate his children, and thus to introduce new varieties in the demand for labor; and each such new variety in the demand for that commodity tends to raise the wages of those engaged in all other pursuits. If there be none but farmers all are seeking employment on a farm. Open a carpenter's or a blacksmith's shop, and the men employed therein will cease to be competitors for farm labor, and wages will tend to rise. Open a mine, or quarry stone and build a mill, and here will be a new competition for labor that will tend to produce a rise in the wages of all laborers. Build a dozen mills, and men will be required to get out timber and stone, and to make spindles, looms, and steam-engines; and when the mills are completed, the demand for labor will withdraw hundreds of men that would be otherwise competitors for employment in the plewing of fields, the making of shoes or coats, and andreds of women that would otherwise be seeking to employ themselves in binding shoes or making shirts. Competition for the purchase of labor grows, therefore, with every increase in the diversification of employ ment, with constant tendency to increase in the reward of labor. It declines with every diminution in the modes of employing labor, with steady tendency to decline in wages.

The object of the British system is, and has always been, that of compelling the people of other countries to limit themselves to the pursuits of agriculture, and revent the existence, in any country of the world, of competition for the purchase of labor. With that view it was that England forbade the crection of iron-works in these her American provinces, and that she imposed restrictions of various kinds in relation to other pursuits. The merchants of London petitioned Parliament against permitting the establishment of any description of manufactures in this country, and Lord CHATHAM declared that he would not permit the people of America to make "even a hobnail" for their own use. The people of the West Indies were in like manner prohibited from refining their own sugar, and thus was competition for the purchase of labor forbidden there as well as here. To carry out her system, she forbade that cotton or woollen machinery, or machinery for the making of iron, should be exported to any part of the world, and artisans were prevented from en grating, lest they should carry to other countries the owledge required for the erection of machinery, and for bringing about that diversification of employment required for producing competition for the purchase of labor. By thus securing for herself a monopoly of the ery for converting food and wool into cloth, and feed, fuel and ore into iron, she obtained complete control over the manufactures and trade of the world, and thus became rich at the expense of other nations, who found themselves in this manner limited to the pursuit of agriculture, with correspondent diminution in the

reward of labor. For a time this prospered, but at length the eyes of the world were ovened to the fact that they were being impoverished as she was being enriched; and that the effect of the system was that of constituting herself sols buter of the raw products of the labor of the world, and sole seller of the manufactured commodities to be given in exchange for them, with power to fix the prices of both : and thus that she was really acting in the causeits of mistress of the world, with power to impose taxes at discretion. By degrees, machinery and artisans were smuggled abroad, and new machinery was made, and other nations turned their attention more and more to manufacturing; and now it became necessary to make new exertions for the purpose of securing to England the monopoly she had so long enjoyed. To enable her was needed that she should underwork the laborers of the world, and thus destroy the power of other nations to introduce among themselves that diversification of employments without which, as our read ers well know, there can be no competition for the pur chase of labor. To secomplish this, her energies were tacked for the invention of machinery that would enable her to substitute boys for men, and girls for women; and at length children of the most tender years were ferced to work fourteen, fifteen, and, we think even as high as sixteen hours a day, in factories; and when it was proposed to limit the hours of work, Parlisment was gravely assured that all the profit resulted from the additional hours, and that without them the people of England could not underwork the poor people India and other countries. It was a contest for life and death. The other nations of the world must be deprived at the power of converting their wool into cloth -they must be deprived of the power to diversify their labor-they must be limited to one employmentor England could not prosper.

Of the independent nations, some were wise coough to see that the tendency of this course of action was toward compelling all other nations to become, as The London Times says in regard to the people of Ireland, "mere howers of wood and drawers of water to the Saxon;" and they protected their people against this insene attempt at their subjugation. Such was the case with Prance and Belgium, and their example was followed by Germany and Russia, and Denmark and Sweden, the people of all of which are highly prosper-one when compared with those of Portugal, Turkey.

and the British Colonies, the free-trade countries of the world

Among the colonies of Britain was Ireland, but she protected horself against the system by high duties on British cottons and weolens, British iron, and various other manufactures, until, in 1801, by the Act of Union, provision was made for the gradual abolition of all duties, and the people of that country were exposed to British competition in all its fury. At the date of the passage of that act, her manufactures were extensive and prosperous, and they supplied almost her whole consumption: but what has since been the effect of British free trade may be seen by reference to our September number, in which were exhibited the gradua decline and final annihilation of the cotton, woolen, and other manufactures of that country, attended by a decline in the price of labor to even fourpeace a day, and followed by famine and pestilence, that have reduced the population of that magnificent island to a point lower than that at which it stood thirty years since.

Diversification of employment had passed away, and every man was in the market competing with his neighber for the cale of his commodity-labor-a necessary consequence of which was that those who desired to buy it made their own terms. "Land is life!" said an eminent Irish Judge; and in the competition for obtaining as much land as would enable the poor people to sustain life, the most extravagant rents were agreed to be paid, even as high as six, eight, or ten pounds, ar thirty, forty, or fifty dollars per acre. Such was the effect of a diminished competition for the purchase of labor, resulting from the establishment of British free trade. In India, likewise, manufactures died away, and with them the competition for the purchase of labor; the consequences of which are described, in a recent correspondence between the Governor-General and the Company, as being at that moment, "suffering to numerous classes scarcely to be paralleled in the history of commerce." The consequences of such a state of things are seen in the fact that famines and pestilences have been numerous and most severe, and that cholera is perpetually present, and must so continue while it shall require the labor of a sixth of the year to purchase the

salt necessary for a laborer's family.

Turkey grew cotton, and exported cotton yarn while furnishing her own people with their cloth. Her mineral resources are inexhaustible, and her people were extensively engaged in the production of iron; but, unhappily for her, Eritain was determined to underwork the world, and she herself adhered to "free trade and direct taxation," the policy now advocated among ourselves by the papers in the employ of Manchester and Birmingham; and the result of this in Turkey is seen in the fact that nowhere in the empire is there any competition for the purchase of labor : that nowhere in Eu rope is the condition of the laborer so low; and that the nation is now a mere plaything in the hands of the Eu-

The British West Indies have been ruined by the eye tem, and Canada is now paralyzed by it. Competition for the purchase of labor nowhere exists, for all are farmers; and thousands of Canadians are now seeking is the Union an asylum in which they may be, in som degree, protected against that British free trade which ooks everywhere to the separation of the consumer from the producer, and the subjugation of both to the tyranny of the middlemen who own the ships and the looms through which they are forced to perform their

Such having been the effects of the system in regard to the customers of England, we may now look to see what they have been in regard to her own people. Desiring to underwork the world, she had gradually substituted female labor for that of males, and infant labor for that of adults; the necessary consequence of which was a diminished competition for the purchase of labor of every kind, and a constant increase in the number of paupers receiving support out of the forced contributions of the people who were able to support themselves; and the amount of poor-taxes rose at length to the almost incredible sum of nine millions of pounds sterling, or more than forty millions of dollars. Under such circumstances, the people who had labor to sell, could neither determine for whom they would work nor what should be their wages; and the result of this was seen in the miserable and debased condition of the hundreds of thousands of wretched people driven to seek refuge in the lanes, alleys, and cellars of Manchester and Bir mingham, Glasgow and Paisley, Liverpool and London. It became at length obvious that the system would not work. The countries with which England had had what she called free trade were ruined, and all the pros-percus countries of the world had imposed high duties upon British manufactures, with a view to prosect their people in the effort at finding a market for their labor and its products; and it became necessary to endeavor to procure a relaxation of the protective system of these countries. England desired to be "the workshop of the world," and, that she might become so, she pro claimed the adoption of that system now known in Man chester by the name of "free trade,"-by which is meant that the people of the rest of the world shall be limited to one pursuit-that of agriculture-and that they shall have but one market in which to sell their food and their weel, and but one in which to buy their cloth and their iren-end that market England.

The effects of the new system were described, in an ticination, as marical. All the world was to be enriched. The people of Russia and Germany were to abandon the idea of diversification of labor, and were to employ themselves in raising food and wool for the great English market, while France was to furnish silk and wine, and we were to raise cotton, no part of which was to be worn, even by ourselves, until it had first crossed the Atlantic in company with the food that was to feed the men who made it into cloth. All the world was to abandon the idea of any combination of effort that could produce competition for the purchase of labor. Eng and was henceforth to be "the workshop of the world. and to buy, at her own prices, all she desired to have, while selling all she produced at prices also fixed by

France, Belgium, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and Russin, had then high protective tariffs, and to them they have since adhered, believing that their interests were to be promoted by the system that brought the consumer near to the producer, and that the nearer the hem and the plew, the hammer and the harrow, the larger would be the reward of labor. This country was then but just recovering from the distresses of 1841-2, the period of a most perfect approach to British free trade when there existed scarcely any demand for labor. Our mills and furnaces had been closed, and we had ong ceased to build new ones; the consequence of which had been that carpenters and masons, miners and smelters, cetton and woolen manufacturers, were everywhere seeking employment in farming, or in other pu suits, with daily tendency to a further decline of wages while women and children, expelled from the mills, and derrived of all employment, had ceased to earn wages to aid in the maintenance of the families of which the were a part. There had been no competition for the surthage of labor, but everywhere competition for its We have now before us a paper by "a farm-la borer," who thus describes that calamitous portion of cur history, when the rapid approach of British free trade, under the strictly revenue provisions of the Compremise Tariff, had annihilated competition for the pur The years 1859, 1840 and '41 were striking elucids-

tions of such cases; when the cry of sober, industrious, orderly man, 'Give me mork! only give me work; MAKE YOUR OWN TERMS—MYSELF AND FAMILY HAVE NOTHING TO EAT, was heard in our land. In those years thousands of cases of the kind occurred in our populous dist icts." It at such was the fact must be admitted by all our

readers. Throughout the whole length and breadth of the latd there was an universal cry of "Give me work; make your own terms—myself and family have nothing to cat;" and the consequence of this state of things w. a that the consumption of food so greatly diminished that the prices at which it was exported, in 1841-2, to foreign countries, were h wer than they had been for many years; and thus it was that the farmer paid for the system which had ruined the laborer and the mechanie

It was this state of things that reestablished protect tion for the American laborer, whether in the field or in the work hop. The tariff of 1842 was passed, and at once there erose competition for the purchase of labor.
Mills were to be built, and men were needed to quarry the stone and get out the hunber; and other men were required to by the stone and fashion the lumber into ficers and roofs, doors and windows; and the employment thus afforded enabled vast numbers of men again to occupy houses of their own, and thus was produced a new demand for masons and carpenters, quarrymon and lumbermon. Furnaces were built, and mines were opened, and steam-engines were needed, and the mea employed at these works were coshied to comme

more largely of food, while ceasing to contond with the agricultural laborer for employment on the farm. Mills were filled with females, and the demand for cloths increased, while the competition for employment, in the making of shirts and coats, diminished. Wages rose, and they rose in every department of labor; the evidence of which is to be found in the fact that the consumption of food and fuel greatly increased, while that of cloth almost doubled, and that of iron trebled.

How indeed could it he otherwise than that the reward of labor should rise? The cotton manufacturer needed laborers, male and female, and so did his neigh bor of the woolen mill; and the laborers they now employed could buy shoes and hats. The iron masters and coal miners needed workmen, and the men they employed needed cotton and woolen cloths; and they could consume more largely of food. The farmer's markets tended to improve, and he could buy more largely of hats and shoes, plows and barrows, and the betmakers and shoemakers, and the makers of plows and harrows, needed more hands; and therefore capi tal was overywhere looking for labor, where before labor had been looking for capital. The value of cottons, and weelens, and iron, produced in 1846, as compared with that of 1842, was greater by a hundred millions of dollars, and all this went to the payment of labor, for all the profits of the iron master and of the cotton and woolen nanufacturer went to the building of new mills and fur naces, or to the enlargement of the old ones. Unhbp pily, however, for us, our legislators were smitten with a love of Eritish free trade. They were of opinion that we were, by right, an agricultural nation, and that so we must continue; and that the true way to produce com petition for the purchase of labor was to resolve the whole nation into a body of farmers, and the tariff of 1842 was repealed. Six years have since clapsed, and we now produce

less iron by about 400,000 tuns, and there is, therefore, less demand for labor, to the extent of the whole value of that iron, which, estimated in the form in which it is used,-nails, stoves, plows, and steam-engines,-is from thirty to forty millions of dollars. In the same time we have largely diminished the production of woolen and cotten cloth, and a variety of other articles, the manufacture of which grew up under the tariff of 1812; and the reduction in the demand for labor in these pursuits may be set down at not less than twenty millions of dollars. We have cessed to build mills and furnaces, and have also ceased to open mines; and thus, in every quarter, is there a diminished competition for the pur chase of labor, whereas it should largely have increased, and would have increased had the tariff of 1842 been maintained. While it existed we added at least a hundred millions to our annual payments for labor in a very few departments of employment, to say nothing of thousand others; and we should since have added a hundred and fifty millions to the amount, whereas it is tow for less than it was six years since, and competition for the purchase of labor diminishes from day to day. How, indeed, could any other result have been antici

neted ! Every workman, whether laborer or mechanic, knows perfectly well that he cannot have higher wages than his neighbor, of equal strength and ability, is willing to receive. The shoemaker that should give a dollar for the making of a pair of shoes that his neighbors were accustomed to have made for fifty cents, would, as all journeymen shoemakers know, be rulued, and therefore it is that when they desire to have a rise of wages, they combine together, and endeavor to prevent any of themselves from working below a fixed rate; and this is as well known to hatters and tailors. paper makers and printers, as it is to shoemakers. Equally true is it as regards the people who manufac ture iren, or cotton and woolen cloths. If they pay given amount of wages, they must obtain a price that is in accordance with those wages, or they must stop; and if they are compolled to compete with the me abroad, who can have their work performed at low wages, they must either pay out less to their men, or they must abandon the business, and it has been aban dened. Everywhere throughout the country mills and furnaces have been first closed, and then sold by the sheriff. In two counties of Pennsylvania, Armstrong and Clarica, forty out of prey-two furnaces have been closed, and nearly all of them have been sold by the sheriff, and the people who worked in them have become competitors for the sale of their labor in other employments. In Essex County, New-York, nearly all the furnaces and forges have been closed, and great numbers of men e been driven out to compete with men that raised food, or made roads, or hats, or shoes; and all the young men who now arrive at maturity are forced to do the same, with constant tendency to swamp those who were before engaged in producing food, shoes, hats, or coats. The great iron establishment at Boonton has been sold by the sheriff, after having paid out three millions in wages to people who must also resort to other means of simployment. The enormous carpet factory at Thompsonville, with its millions of capital has been ruined because it could not pay high wages and compete with men who had their carpets many tured at low ones. The great print works of Fall River have been closed, and their proprietors have been ruined; and such has been the case with cotton and nills, rolling mills, and hundreds of smaller estal labments of various kinds, from one extremity of the country to the other; and the effect of this, in every care, has been to drive out numbers of persons, male and female, to seek subsistence in other employments thus increasing everywhere the competition for the sale of labor, with tendency to reduction in its price. That this tendency results inevitably from the closing of any branch of employment, must be obvious to all our readers. Now, the object of the whole British system

where competition for its purchase. The London Times informs its readers that " the great works of Britain depend on cheap labor." The less the competition here for the purchase of labor, the lower must be wages, the smaller must be the domestic consut ption of ford, the greater must be the surplus for export, and the lower west be the prices at which Britain will be supplied. So, too, with cotton. The manufacturers of dia have been ruined, and the whole people have been driven to seek employment in the work of cultivation; the consequence of which is that cotton yields the producer less than a penny per pound, and his wages are es than a deller per month. Our manufactories are broken up, and all of our people are driven into agriculture, that they may compete with India for the sale of their products in the market of England; and the effect of this is seen in the fact that the cotton which used to sell at twelve or eighteen cents per pound, now sells at from six to twelve; and with the large crop of the present season may, and perhaps will, see lower prices then any yet known. It is sought thus to produce everywhere competition for the sale in England of the products of the labor of other countries, and the effect of this is seen in the destruction of the value of the labor of the recole of the rest of the world.

is that of producing chespness of labor; and the mode

in which that is to be accomplished is to destroy every

The object of the whole system is that of underworking the world, and its effects are seen in the ruin of all the countries which permit the British system to be carried out, and of this Ireland affords the most remarkable example. Up to 1801, the date of the Act of Union, by which it was provided that free trade with England should gradually be established, that country had extensive manufactures of iron, and of cotton an woolen cloth; but there gradually disappeared as free trade was more and more established, and the conse quence of this has been the gradual depreciation in the slue of labor, because of the total absence of a market for it : and, as has been seen, men have been compelled to remain idle when they were willing to labor for even foursence a day. Of these poor people rast number sought employment in England, and the effect was that reducing the value of English agricultural labor to such an extent that English laborers were forced to content themselves with six shillings a week for the sup port of themselves, their wives, and their families Hew men could live upon ser shillings, (1 44) we leave to our readers to imagine for themselves, after having reed the following statement of the mode of disposing of even the larger wages of eight shillings per week.
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 Total.
 Ss. 0d.

Here are ten cents per week for mest, sixtoen cents er week for fael, \$1.30 for bread for a family, and et the condition of these poor people is ortable compared with that of tens of thousands of hand-locm weaters, always receiving low wages, even when employed, and often deprived altogether of empleyment. It is comfortable compared with that of dreds of thousands who fill the cellars, or occupy the lanes and alleys of London and Liverpool, Manches ter and Glargew; all of whom are competitors for the sale of labor, leaving the buyers of labor to fix the price.

Such having been the result of the determination to underwork the world, it became necessary to establish a new system of philosophy, by aid of which to relieve those who sought to buy labor cheap and sell its products dear, from all responsibility for the existence of such a state of things. And accordingly it came to be discovered that the Almighty had not prepared a place at his table for all mankind, and that if men would marry and have hildren, without first having accumulated a capital for their support, it was incumbent upon the rest of the community to permit them, unassisted, to suffer every privation, and every calamity "short of absolute death. as a lesson to those who were to follow them. The la-bover had, it was said, no right to have work found for him. He had no right to claim that, if willing to work, he was entitled to be fed. His claims, in this respect, were precisely similar to those of the men who had cloths to sell. If the "labor markets" were full, he must starve; and any claim to the contrary was " a clear absurdity. How many hundreds of Manchester cotton spinners, or Leeds clothiers," it was triumphantly asked, "have their warehouses crammed with goods which they only desire to sell at the most paltry profit, or even at prime cost? But do they ever stultify themselves by requiring the State to compel unwilling customers to purchase from them setticles which they do not want?" If they do not, has then the laborer any claim upon the community for even the food required to keep him and his family from starvation? Assuredly not! The answer to be made is that the labor market is full, and you must die off until the supply shall be brought down to the demand. Suck is the political philosophy of The Edinburgh Review, one of the most consistent advocates of that British free trade system which teaches that the true interests of all other nations are to be promoted by confining themselves exclusively to agriculture, in

We beg our readers now to remark that "the labor market is full," and full to overflowing, in all those countries that have free trade with England. Of this Ireland and India, Turkey, Portugal, and the West Indies are examples. In none of them is there any competition for the purchase of labor. Neither was there any here in the free-trade times of 1841 and 1842, as they must well recollect. "The labor market" was then full, because we then built no mills or furnaces, nor did we open mines : and as a necessary consequence, people were too poor to purchase shoes or hats, books or newspapers. The tariff of 1842 led to the reopening of old mills and furnaces, and the building of new ones; and thus cleared "the labor market." Manchester free trade paralyzes trade everywhere, and the great sufferer by this paralysis is the man who has labor to sell. The whole tendency of the system is to keep "the labor market" everywhere full, and to enable the purchaser of labor to fix the price of it. The object of the American free trade, which was established by the tariff of 1842, s to protect the laborer from being compelled to compete with men who furnish "the cheap labor" upon which are besed all "the great works of Britain" that have, as The Times assures us, contributed so largely to the com-

order that there may be but one set of employers, and

that there may nowhere be any competition for the pur-

chase of labor.

fort of "those who have money to spend." Seven years since, Mr. Conden told the people of England that for many years previously there had been two laborers seeking one master, whereas, when they should have recealed the corn-laws, there would speed ly be seen two masters seeking one laborer. How far this prophecy has been realized in Ireland may be seen in the fact that famine, pestilence, and emigration have since that time diminished the population at least two millions, and that the tendency to the extirpation of the celtic rice is greater now than it has at any time been. How far it is the case in Scotland may be seen from the fellowing statement of facts in relation to the people of the Highlands, whose succestors have probably been for enturies in possession of the lands from which they

themselves are now being expelled.

"A Colonel Gordon, the owner of estates in South Ulst and Eatra, in the highlands of Scotland, has sent off over 1,100 destitute tenants and cotters under the most crucland delusive temptations; assuring them that they would be taken care of immediately on their arrival at Quebec by the emigrant agent, receive a free passage to Upper Canada, where they would be provided with work by the government agents, and receive grants of land on certain imaginary conditions. Seventy-one of the last cargo of four hundred and fifty have signed a statement that some of them lied to the mountains when an attempt was made to force them to emigrate. 'Whare-upp,' they add, 'Mr. Fleming gave orders to a policeman, who was accompanied by the ground officer of the estate in Barra, and some constables, to pursue the people who had in away among the mountains, which they did, and succeeded in capturing about meenty from the mentains and from other islands in the neighborhood; but only came with the officers on an attempt being made to handed them, and that some who ran away were not brought back, in consequence of which four families, at least, bace while other members if the same families are left in the highlands.

Tow it has been in England is seen in the fact that at themselves are now being expelled.

How it has been in England is seen in the fact that at no period has emigration been so great, nor basthere been at any time more evidence of distress among the lebering pepulation than since the date of Mr. Cobden's We have now before us a letter from Lonon, dated on the the 21st of last July, and addressed to he editor of a journal that supports the British freetrade paley, from which we take the following extract :

"The rety dull state of trade in the manufacturing districts is causing great distress among the operatives, many of whem do not earn more than one dollar per week! I frequently hear of ones where poor operatives are oppressed by persons who have trusted them for small sums. A Carlisle trades man recently sued a hand-loom weaver in the county court. The weaver was poor, but kneet; he admitted that ne owed the debt, and offered to pay a small sum seekly to reduce it. It appeared from the evidence that the weaver had a wife and three children, and that handrade of meares could not earn more wages. The judge who heard this case was so affected by the man's story, that he made an order for a small amount to be judd muntilly. The condition of most of the operative classes of the manufacturing districts is little better than that of the poor Carlisle scover. It is not strange that such men about with to leave their native land for the United States or Australis, where labor has here its reward! If the laborer of this country were not protected against the compe-"The very dull state of trade in the manufacturing

er of this country were not protected against the compe tition of the man who finds himself compelled to work in England a whole week for little more than a dollar, could be now have more than a dollar here? Certainly not. Fut for protection, such even as it is, we should be all farmers, as they are in Ireland, and competition for the purchase of labor would be here no greater than it is there. Every man who reads this paper knows that when two men desire to sell labor, and only one to buyit, as it is in all countries in which manufactures do not exist, wages must be low; and every man must equally well know that the way to bring about an increase wages is to increase the number of competitors for the purchase of lator. How, we may be asked, is this to be done? The answer is, build mills, and make demand ter querry men, masons, and corponters. Build furnaces, and make demand for miners and laborers. Build muchine shops, and makedemand for mechanics. Build team-engines, and make spinning-jennies, and power locms, and make demand for men and women to attend them. The more of there things that are done, the larger will bothe competition for the purchase of labor, the greater will be the reward of labor, and the better will be the condition of the laborer and the mechanic; while the increased production of cloths and of machinery, will enable the farmer to clothe himself more cheaply, the increased facility of obtaining plows and harrows will enable him to cultivate his land more advantageous ly, and the increased ability to make his exchanges in his mediate neighberhood, will enable him to manure his laid and chisin large crops; and thus will all parties benefit by the system which looks to competition for the purchase of labor.

It is, as we have said, to prevent the existence of this competition that England desires to have what she cails free trade. The desires to be the sele "workshop of the world," and that the mey be so, it is indispense ble to underwork the world, that is, she must have that cheep labor," to which, as we are told by The Times, she owes the existence of her "great works," She must buy laker and its products in the cheap market, and sell in the dear one; that is, she must buy the la-Lor of Ireland, India, and this country cheep, and she must sell to us as dearly as she can; and the more she can make herself the exclusive "workshop of the world," the more will her manufacturers be able to buy cheeply and sell dearly. Their system, as it affects the laberers of England herself, and those of other countrice, has been so well described in a speech recently delivered at Bradford, on the occasion of the election of representatives in the new Parliament, that we are tempted to furnish our readers with the following long estract. Describing the Manchester system, the speaker

says that "pauperism" lies at its roots:

"It is, "says he, "its root. That system is based on fere ng comp. Itis n. Now I assect, that wader the bay chesp and will dear principle, brought to bear in foreign competition, the ruin of the working and small trading

classes must go on. Why! Labor is the creater of all wealth. A maximust work before a grain is grown, or a yird is woven. But there is no self-employment for the working-man in this country. Labor is a hired commedity—is bor is a thired in the marks that is bought and wealth. A max imust work before a grain is grown, or a yeard is woven. But there is no self-coupleyment for the working-man in this country. Labor is a hirred commodity—is bot is a thing in the mark, that is bought and seld; consequently, as labor creates all wealth, labor is the first thing bought.—Buy cheap! buy cheap! Labor is bought in the cheapest market. But now comes the next: 'Sell deart' sell deart' Sell what! Labor's produce. To whom? To the foreigner—ay! and to the laborer himself—for labor, not being sel. impleyed, the laborer himself—for labor not being sel. impleyed, the laborer is not the partaker of the first fruits of his toil. 'Buy cheap, sell dear.' How do you like it! Buy cheap, sell dear.' How do you like it! Buy cheap, sell dear.' How do you like it! Buy cheap, sell dear.' How do you like it! Buy cheap, sell dear.' How do you like it! Buy cheap, sell dear.' How do you like it! Buy cheap, sell dear.' How do you like it! Buy cheap, sell dear.' How do you like it! Buy cheap, sell dear.' How do you like it! Buy cheap, sell dear.' How do you like it! Buy cheap, sell dear.' How do you like it! Buy cheap, sell dear.' How do you like it! Buy cheap, sell dear.' How do you like it! Buy cheap, sell dear.' How do will have sells, and on the sale he must make a profit; he sells to the working man himself—and thus every bargain between employer and employed is a deliberate chest on the part of the employer. Thus labor has to sink through eternal loss, that capital may rise through lasting fraud. But the system action constantly increasing fraud. But the system action abroad is constantly increasing, consequently cheapers was man increase also. Therefore, wages in England must keep constantly falling. And how do they do the fall the fall.' By surplus labor. How do they obtain the surplus habor! By monopoly of the land, which drives more hands than are wanted into the factory. By monopoly of machinery, which drives the man from the street; by woman labor, which drives the man from the other is better than

Strong as is all this, it is nevertheless true. England is engaged in a war of extermination waged against the labor of all other countries employed in any pursuit except that of raising raw produce to be sent to her own market, there to be exchanged for the cloth and the iron produced at the mills and furnaces of her millionaires, who have accumulated their vast fortunes at the expense of ireland, India, Portugal, Turkey, and the other countries that have been rained by the sys-tem which she denominates free trade. In the effort to crush them she has been crushing her own people, and the more rapid the spread of pauperism at home the greater have been her efforts to produce the surplus laber which causes a fall of wages at home and abroad.

Throughout this country workmen object to the em ployment of convict labor. The tendency is, say they. to reduce the rate of wages, because the labor of ene victs cannot be sold except at reduced prices; and every attempt at rendering penitentiaries self-support-ing must, as they say, fail, unless the consist undersort the freeman. There cannot be two prices in one market, at one and the same time, for the same commodity. That admitted, we would beg our readers now to reperuse the extract just given, and see if the system established in Great Britain is not precisely the same against which they protest when attempted to be established among ourselves. If they cannot compete with convicts here, can they compete with the men abroad who are compelled to cry, "Give me work; make your own terms! my wife and family are starving!" Ireland abounds with men who cannot obtain employment, even at twelve cents per day. Scotland has its hun-dreds of thousands of people always at the starvation point, and England has its hundreds of thousands whose whole earnings for the support of themselves, their wives and their families, are but six or seven shillings a week. The whole kingdom is being converted into one vast prison-house, filled with men who cry, "Give me work; make your own terms !" And it is with these men that England invites the competition of the world. Her system tends to the destruction of the laborer at home and abroad. It is to be carried out by aid of what she calls free trade, and its working is so well described in a recent work of great ability" in regard to one branch of trade, (the llors',) that we are tempted to give the extracts which follow:

follow:

"His son succeeded to the business, determined, like Rehel oam of old, to go ahead with the times.

Why should he not get rich as fast as he could? Why should he stick to the old, slow-going, honorable trades?

Ridiculous scruples? The Governmentknew none such. Were not the army clothes, the post-office clothes, the pelicemen's clothes, furnished by contractions and awesters, who hired the work at low prices, and

ore that weather, who have the work as the press. May should be pay his men two shillings where the Government paid thly one? Were there not cheap house at the West-end, [London,] which had saved several thouse the west-end th and a year by merely reducing their men's wages!

And if the workmen chose to take lower wages, he was not bound actually to make them a present of more than they arked for.'

Such being the views of the employer, we may now examine those of the employed.

examine those of the employed.

"Every working tailor must come to this at last, on the present system; and we are only lucky in having been spared so long. You all know where this will ead—in the same misery as 15,000 out of 20,000 of our class are enduring now. We shall become in slaves, often the bodily prisoners, of lews, middlemen, and sweaters, who draw their livelihood out of our starvation. We shall have to face, as the rest have, seer decreasing prices of labor, ever increasing profits made out of that labor by the contractors who will employ us—arbitrary lines inflicted at the caprice of hirefings—the competition of women, and children, and starving Irish—our hours of women, and children, and starving Irish—our hours of work will increase one-third, our actual pay decrease to less than one-half; and in all this we shall have no hope, no chance of improvement in wages, but ever more panury, slavery, misery, as we are pressed on by those who are sacked by littles—almost by hundred—yearly, out of the honorable trade in which we were brought up, into the informal system of contract work, which is devouring our trade and many others, bedy and soul. Our wives will be forced to sit up night and day to help we—our children must labor from the cradle, without chance of going to school, hardly of britching the fresh sir of Heaven; our boys, as they grow up, must turn beggars or paupers—our daughters, as thousands do, must eke out their miserable carnings by prostitution. And, siter all, a whole family will not gain what one of us has been doing, as yet, single-handed."

The accaker, and some of his friends, resisted the

The speaker, and some of his friends, resisted the attempt to reduce their wages, and, as a matter of course, were discharged, and next we find them in Tun SWEATER'S DEN, described in one of the chapters of this powerful work, to which we refer such of our read ers as may desire to find the perfect realization of the picture of the sufferings of the English workmen given in the above most striking paragraph—all of them the result of an issane attempt to underwork the world. at the head of which we find the present free-trade Government, whose work is

"Contracted for on the same infernal plan, by sweaters and sweaters' sweaters, and sweaters' sweaters, and sweaters' sweaters, till Government work is just the very last, lewest resource to which a poor starved-out wretch betaker himself to keep body and soul together. Way, the Government prices, in almost every department, are half, and less than half, the very lowest living price."

The Government, however, is not to blame; it is only carrying out the system which teaches that the true mode of enriching England is to buy labor, at home and abroad, in the cheapest market, and to sell it in the dearest one. The London Times assures its readers that "the great works of England are based on the cheop labor of Ireland," but it might have added that of India, of Turkey, and of all the other unprotected nations of the world. Our own half-protested na has contributed to them most largely, and our contributions increase as the reward of labor diminishes under the action of the tariff of 1846.

There cannot be two prices in the world at the same time for the same commodity. If cotton is low in Cal-cutta it cannot be high in New Orleans, nor can sugar be low in New Orleans if high in New York. So is it with labor. The destruction of the value of labor in Ireland has tended much to the destruction of the value of the of England, now going on and bound to continue; and he destruction of the value of English labor sends to the destruction of the value of that of this country, as we thall new show. Our readers have seen the con of the tailors in England-occupants of the sweater's det.-of whom from fateen to twenty thou-and have re-